



# THE ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

"well," is a truism which applies here with all its force and sequence that the nature of the case will import. If we can neutralize opposition—if we can bind by all that is in us to prevent its extension over lands now unaccustomed with its might—how much more are we under obligation to do battle against it where it is, and where millions are the enduring victims of its remorseless power? No compact made with a robber, no bargain concluded with a thief is in any manner binding where this compact or hæmorrhage subverts every rule of right. Is it right that a man should have his children stolen, his wife carried off, and even be dispossessed of himself, because his father may have made no wicked agreement, or thus foolishly bartered away the rights of his descendants for a poor, necessary compensation? Who of us is willing to carry out such doctrine as this? Yet it is nothing more nor less than slavery—American slavery, lived out and consummated every day. Gov. Chase and his co-conspirators must take higher ground, are they can do anything which will effectively operate against slavery, than the party now assumes. If they do not, but few more presidential elections will come in pace until the honest, thinking, and conscientious portion of the Democratic party will take that position, and uniting with the radicals will help to sweep oppression from our land. Intelligent Democrats now say, that the radical is the only consistent ground, and that if they ever leave their party it will be to join those who are laboring for the overthrow of slavery, not only in the territories, but in the States.

Gov. Chase ought to know that the Republican party is a very ephemeral, changeable party, not having any very stable principles serving opposition to the so-called Democracy. Cannot he remember that, in 1853, when he went forth on the stump to oppose the present administration, this very same Republican party would not allow him to speak against slavery, unless he would first pledge himself to speak on temperance? If he has forgotten this fact others have not. Now this party almost repudiates temperance, and wants no Main law enacted. The truth is, that party is after power, and it will accommodate itself to any thing to secure it.

From the London Daily News, Nov. 18.

## THE FILLIBUSTER QUESTION.

The Washington Cabinet has already favored and disengaged Walker the Fillibuster, till it has become difficult to say, at any time, how the adventurer stands at headquarters. If we are to believe the Hon. Senator Brown, who accuses to speak for Mr. Buchanan, the government has always been right in countenancing Walker, and has always had cause for repentance at having turned his back upon him, so that its oscillation seems likely to end in a steady repose upon Walker. However this may be, Walker appears to have obtained support enough, from one quarter or another, to be able to resume his operations—and we are told that Soule has become his comrade. Our readers have, of course, not forgotten Mr. Soule, the originator of the Ostend Manifesto, the comrade of Mr. Buchanan in that business, the firebrand wherever he went; the agitator and duelist at the Court of Madrid; the bully, in the shape of an ambassador, whose government were obliged to recall after he had put the reputation of the Republic to no small risk. We should be better able to judge of Central American prospects if we knew how Mr. Soule now stands with his government.—With Walker he evidently stands high; and high between the President and the Fillibuster. Vessels are reported to be leaving many or all the southern ports with men, arms and ammunition, to be landed in or near Nicaragua, under the name of an immigration expedition; and Walker had announced, by printed circular, his intention of sailing from New Orleans on the 10th of this month, in a vessel prepared to convey parties of settlers who may desire to colonize Nicaragua. On the one hand, we hear that the scheme is so arranged and planned under the charge of emigration societies at home, by the wisdom of Mr. Soule, as that the Washington government cannot interfere with it; and on the other, that the English government has taken measures to prevent the landing of Walker and of all who go under his auspices. It does not appear that there is any pretense of arrangements having been made for the purchase of land wherein to settle. So far from it, that the American Minister in Nicaragua has demanded six million dollars in compensation for lives lost and property destroyed during Walker's last expedition. Two millions of dollars are demanded of Costa Rica, and other amounts from the other States, on the same ground. The incident seems incredible; but it is accounted on the spot as fact. It is as if a burglar got wounded, and his brother born, in being beaten back in an attack on a country house, and then sued the resident for the cost of his wound, and the loss of wages and damage to his clothes. If it be true that such a demand has been made by the United States Minister, it cannot be supposed that the complainants have purchased land on which to settle. Whether they have or not, the enterprise has been forestalled. The governments of the South disprove of slavery, and mean to keep their territory clear of it, whereas the avowed object of the Fillibusters is to make the Isthmus slave territory. As a measure of prevention, the free labor emigration societies of the northern States, which poured streams of immigrants into Kansas, long ago made their arrangements for colonizing the Isthmus in the same way, under the name of the government, if the danger of the introduction of slavery, under the name of immigration, should become pressing. It is not probable that, at present, any genuine colonization will take place, in the one way or the other; but the most improbable of the two cases is surely that of the armed invaders, who insist on the payment of their damage by the powers they have invaded, and who bring with them the "peculiar institution" which the local governments refuse to admit within their frontier. The outside world observes that the other side, considering that Granada was burst by citizens of the United States, enlisted for the purpose of invasion. The Nicaraguan government has another reason for declining to permit any immigrants, but such as accords with express treaty stipulations—that evidences are appearing of the process of American annexation having been actually entered upon in the usual way. The United States is very like the Russian; to extend the range of the crowned community in disorder; to aggravate the riot and revolt, to interfere as mediator; to assume the powers of government; and, finally, to annex the territory itself. At the bottom most convenient to the Isthmus the rubber-tanks of Nicaragua are appearing, as if mounting collision with the government; and, if no interference were impending, we should probably see a repetition of the Texas story. But the world has learned something by that story, and the Isthmus will not bear easily absorbed. The

Nicaraguan minister at Washington is believed to be under orders to proceed to London, if he fails in negotiating a fair treaty, and obtaining securities for its observance. In regard to the parts of the mondo, it may be observed that the presence of Mr. William Ware Gunney in the fortress, supporting a sufficient portion of our West India squadron must be a guarantee for peace while the affairs of the transit route is under discussion—Admiral Kellert, it appears, is within call of the Nicaraguan authorities, with a naval force adequate to deal with any number of filibusters. The Washington government is perfectly aware of the alliance between Nicaragua and the European powers; it declares that it will allow no alliance which can obstruct the natural right of the United States to over-rule neighboring territories; but it is not in circumstances to make any effectual resistance to the fair, peaceful, and universally profitable settlement of Central American affairs. Boats and threats which could be indulged in a few months ago can hardly be ventured now, when the northern States have, without an exception thus far, condemned the policy of the existing administration, and announced its impending overthrow.

## CONSISTENCY.

The papers, and particularly those of the South, are boiling over with indignation at the Government of San Salvador, one of the States of the Central American Republic, for expelling the Rev. Mr. Crowe, an agent of the "American Bible Society," from the country. He went there to distribute Bibles, and teach Protestantism to a people who wanted neither. He was advised that his proceedings were in violation of the laws of the country, and that he must desist or suffer the penalty. He chose to persist, and was quickly sent out of the country by the authorities, and our heart is stirred by the outrage! Public meetings are being held in our cities, and the papers are calling upon our Government to interfere in the matter.

Now, while we cannot have the slightest sympathy with the bigotry that would prevent Mr. Crowe from giving Bibles to those who desire them, we think it would be well to turn our attention to home affairs &c. While there can be a justification for such intolerance in any country, there is a seeming palliation in this case. Here was a stranger, a foreigner, in the face of the laws of the country, doing that which, however right and commendable in itself, was, nevertheless, in open contempt of the public sentiment and authorities of the State.

But how is it in our own country? In nearly half the States of this Union, the law makes it a Penitentiary offence for a citizen even to give a Bible to any one of a large class of the population, or permit them to read a single word in it! And this barbarous and bloody code is as dead letter on the statute books. It is not long since Mrs. Douglass, a wealthy and accomplished widow, a native and life-long resident of Norfolk, Virginia, and herself a slaveholder, was convicted and sent to the Penitentiary of that State, for teaching some of her household to read the Bible! And everybody knows that if a citizen of Ohio, or any other State in the Union, and much more, an agent of a foreign—say English—Society, should attempt to do in Virginia, or any other Slave State, precisely what Mr. Crowe was attempting to do in San Salvador, he would not be exiled from the State, nor permitted to leave it; if not murdered on the spot, as he most likely

would be the case. The President and the Fillibuster. Vessels are reported to be leaving many or all the southern ports with men, arms and ammunition, to be landed in or near Nicaragua, under the name of an immigration expedition; and Walker had announced, by printed circular, his intention of sailing from New Orleans on the 10th of this month, in a vessel prepared to convey parties of settlers who may desire to colonize Nicaragua. On the one hand, we hear that the scheme is so arranged and planned under the charge of emigration societies at home, by the wisdom of Mr. Soule, as that the Washington government cannot interfere with it; and on the other, that the English government has taken measures to prevent the landing of Walker and of all who go under his auspices. It does not appear that there is any pretense of arrangements having been made for the purchase of land wherein to settle. So far from it, that the American Minister in Nicaragua has demanded six million dollars in compensation for lives lost and property destroyed during Walker's last expedition. Two millions of dollars are demanded of Costa Rica, and other amounts from the other States, on the same ground. The incident seems incredible; but it is accounted on the spot as fact. It is as if a burglar got wounded, and his brother born, in being beaten back in an attack on a country house, and then sued the resident for the cost of his wound, and the loss of wages and damage to his clothes. If it be true that such a demand has been made by the United States Minister, it cannot be supposed that the complainants have purchased land on which to settle. Whether they have or not, the enterprise has been forestalled. The governments of the South disprove of slavery, and mean to keep their territory clear of it, whereas the avowed object of the Fillibusters is to make the Isthmus slave territory. As a measure of prevention, the free labor emigration societies of the northern States, which poured streams of immigrants into Kansas, long ago made their arrangements for colonizing the Isthmus in the same way, under the name of the government, if the danger of the introduction of slavery, under the name of immigration, should become pressing. It is not probable that, at present, any genuine colonization will take place, in the one way or the other; but the most improbable of the two cases is surely that of the armed invaders, who insist on the payment of their damage by the powers they have invaded, and who bring with them the "peculiar institution" which the local governments refuse to admit within their frontier. The outside world observes that the other side, considering that Granada was burst by citizens of the United States, enlisted for the purpose of invasion. The Nicaraguan government has another reason for declining to permit any immigrants, but such as accords with express treaty stipulations—that evidences are appearing of the process of American annexation having been actually entered upon in the usual way. The United States is very like the Russian; to extend the range of the crowned community in disorder; to aggravate the riot and revolt, to interfere as mediator; to assume the powers of government; and, finally, to annex the territory itself. At the bottom most convenient to the Isthmus the rubber-tanks of Nicaragua are appearing, as if mounting collision with the government; and, if no interference were impending, we should probably see a repetition of the Texas story. But the world has learned something by that story, and the Isthmus will not bear easily absorbed. The

A Conservative Examiner.—In the Indiana Senate, Dec. 2d, in a discussion in reference to instructions to representatives regarding the administration of Kansas.

"Mr. Gooding.—When the proper time comes, I shall have a platform to introduce into which I shall declare that the Constitution of the United States does not carry, extend or prohibit slavery anywhere on God's footstool, but simply declares it to be the law where it exists by law, and allows it where the people will have it. I shall also declare that the people of a Territory have a right to vote upon the adoption of their Constitution, and that no State ought hereafter to be admitted until it has been ratified by the people who reside in it."

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"A member.—Jordan is a hard road to travel you may find!" [Laughter.]

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Church, which abhors, justifies, or legalizes slaveholding in any degree. The constitutional law relied upon does not in the least ingore our side in the position. The argument for the constitutionality of slavery rests upon two classes. The first is the General Rule, which forbids, "The buying and selling of men, women and children, with an intention to enslave them." The other class is the restrictive rule which forbids the General Conference to revoke or change the above rule, only by the three fourths and two thirds votes above described. The reader will see the entire law before him, which it is claimed renders slavery unconstitutional in the N. E. Church. The argument must turn on the class of the general rule. It is admitted that it cannot be revoked or altered, but does it not render slaveholding unconstitutional? By what rule of interpretation does it this, we cannot see.

The language conveys nothing to slavery in any sense, but everything it says is against Slavery, as far as it goes. It prohibits all buying and selling, except for the purpose of freeing them.—The publick started by the late Dr. Bond, that the pub. does not relate to the purchase and sale of slaves but to the foreign slave trade, is not allowed to be inserted upon the subject in any absurd position. There was nothing on the subject in Mr. Wesley's original rules. In America the subject may be read through the following changes:

In the minutes of a Conference which commenced April 30, 1784, the following question and answer appeared: Quæs. "What shall be done with slaves that will buy and sell slaves?" Ans. "If they have them with no other design than to hold them slaves, and have been previously warned, they shall be expelled." Lee's History, page 88.

In December of the same year, Dr. Coke, having arrived, the Conference assembled, at which the N. E. Church was organized, and a form of Discipline agreed upon. This Discipline contains a provision requiring every slaveholder in the Church to emancipate his slaves within twelve months. After the detail of the plan of emancipation, it was further enacted that, "No person holding slaves shall, in future, be admitted into communion with the Lord's supper, till he previously compliance with these rules concerning Slavery."

The following question and answer was a part of the same enactment against Slavery: "Quæs. Shall be done with those who buy or sell slaves, or give them away? Ans. They are immediately to be expelled; unless they buy them as slaves to free them."

These rules were never enforced, were soon suspended, and then repealed, but their sense is the same thing, and they prove beyond a doubt, that the legislation of the Church in those times, was directed alone against the foreign slave trade, and those rules related to the foreign slave trade, they would not have been so soon suspended and repealed.

The prohibition of buying and selling slaves appeared in the General Rules, for the first time in 1790, in the following words, "The buying and selling the bodies and souls of men, women or children, with an intention of enslaving them." This was changed in 1792, The buying or selling of men, women or children, with an intention to enslave them." This was changed in 1808, six years afterwards as to read, "The buying and selling of men, women or children." This last change was not authorized, and must have been made by the editor or the printer, by design, or by mistake, it matters not which. The construction which has been put upon the rule, which renders it necessary in order to a violation, that men be bought and sold, and that women be bought and sold, and that children be bought and sold, is no doubt to be insisted upon by honest men of sense. In addition to the fact that the change to this reading was unauthorized, it is the most trifling of which we can conceive. What kind of moral legislation is it to enact that a master may buy any number of men and sell them, and any number of women and sell them, and if there be no children among them, is no crime, but if there should be two children in the company, then it is a crime for which he must be expell'd from the Church. Again, he may buy and sell any number of women and children, and it is a crime, but if there are men in the company, he will be expelled; or he may buy any number of men and children, and if there is no women among them, it is no crime, but if there are two in the company he is very guilty and must be expelled. Is there not moral sublimity in such legislation? Who does not see that the purchase and sale of any one or two of the classes, constitutes the crime, or else that there is no crime in the addition of the third class in the transaction? Will any member who has any respect for himself, or for the Church to which he belongs, say that the N. E. Church has ever so legislated?

From the above it is clear that the rule does not in terms, prohibit slaveholding in the Church. Its language and history prove that it was never designed to prohibit Slavery, that it is against Slavery, as far as it goes, and that it extends to the prohibition of the traffic. In our next argument we shall show that the rule does not protect Slavey, nor sanctify, or by implication.

Correspondence of the N. Y. Tribune.

## DEPUTY FOR MURDERING A SLAVE.

FAYETTEVILLE, N. C., Nov. 20, 1858.

Among the cases which came before the Superior Court, held in this place, during the past week, was that of the Commonwealth vs. Faulk, for the murder of a slave named Pompey, in the month of May, 1857. The murderer was alleged to have been committed at night by three white men, as charged in the indictment, namely, Howell, Murphy and Faulk. The Grand Jury found a "true bill" against these men, two of whom were arrested, but released the liberty of leaving jail without permission of their keeper. One of them, Howell, has since been resurrected. Murphy absconded from the State, and made himself safe from the hands of the law, for a time at least. Faulk was subsequently found in Charleston, where, some time last summer, he was resurrected and returned to court upon the murder charge. No positive testimony was adduced upon the trial, owing to the fact that all the white persons who witnessed the horrible deed, were the most under informed. The prosecutor secured a most formidable array of counsel. Seven men, known in the law and learned in the use of language, arguments and sophistry, appeared to defend the murderer, and to sustain the ends of justice. The side of the negro was presented by Solicitor Strong, who brought before the Court and Jury the following array of evidence, as briefly condensed as possible:

## Miscellaneous Summary.

**The Fair.**—The Fair Committee would remind their co-workers in Salem and adjacent neighborhoods, that cream for Ice Cream, bread, cakes, cheese and butter are especially needed for the provision tables.

We hope by improved arrangements to make these articles more than ordinarily available in increasing the amount of the receipts of the Fair.

## THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

The leading features of the President's Message are a faintly retrospective of Kansas history, and a desire to extend the "area of freedom" over Cuba, Mexico and Chile.

Mr. Lewis, being an unfortunate cripple, half-willing, through fear, and unable from his lameness, to follow the parties with assistance. He therefore went to a neighbor named Waters, and induced him to start in pursuit toward the "White House." This place, however, like was the entire law before him, which it is claimed renders slavery unconstitutional in the N. E. Church. The argument must turn on the class of the general rule. It is admitted that it cannot be revoked or altered, but does it not render slaveholding unconstitutional? By what rule of interpretation does it this, we cannot see.

The language conveys nothing to slavery in any sense, but everything it says is against Slavery, as far as it goes. It prohibits all buying and selling, except for the purpose of freeing them.—The publick started by the late Dr. Bond, that the pub. does not relate to the purchase and sale of slaves but to the foreign slave trade, is not allowed to be inserted upon the subject in any absurd position.

There was nothing on the subject in Mr. Wesley's original rules. In America the subject may be read through the following changes:

In the minutes of a Conference which commenced April 30, 1784, the following question and answer appeared: Quæs. "What shall be done with slaves that will buy and sell slaves?" Ans. "If they have them with no other design than to hold them slaves, and have been previously warned, they shall be expelled."

In December of the same year, Dr. Coke, having arrived, the Conference assembled, at which the N. E. Church was organized, and a form of Discipline agreed upon. This Discipline contains a provision requiring every slaveholder in the Church to emancipate his slaves within twelve months. After the detail of the plan of emancipation, it was further enacted that, "No person holding slaves shall, in future, be admitted into communion with the Lord's supper, till he previously compliance with these rules concerning Slavery."

The following question and answer was a part of the same enactment against Slavery: "Quæs. Shall be done with those who buy or sell slaves, or give them away? Ans. They are immediately to be expelled; unless they buy them as slaves to free them."

These rules were never enforced, were soon suspended, and then repealed, but their sense is the same thing, and they prove beyond a doubt, that the legislation of the Church in those times, was directed alone against the foreign slave trade, and those rules related to the foreign slave trade, they would not have been so soon suspended and repealed.

The prohibition of buying and selling slaves appeared in the General Rules, for the first time in 1790, in the following words, "The buying and selling the bodies and souls of men, women or children, with an intention of enslaving them." This was changed in 1792, The buying or selling of men, women or children, with an intention to enslave them." This was changed in 1808, six years afterwards as to read, "The buying and selling of men, women or children." This last change was not authorized, and must have been made by the editor or the printer, by design, or by mistake, it matters not which. The construction which has been put upon the rule, which renders it necessary in order to a violation, that men be bought and sold, and that women be bought and sold, and that children be bought and sold, is no doubt to be insisted upon by honest men of sense. In addition to the fact that the change to this reading was unauthorized, it is the most trifling of which we can conceive. What kind of moral legislation is it to enact that a master may buy any number of men and sell them, and any number of women and sell them, and if there be no children among them, is no crime, but if there should be two children in the company, then it is a crime for which he must be expell'd from the Church. Again, he may buy and sell any number of women and children, and it is a crime, but if there are men in the company, he will be expelled; or he may buy any number of men and children, and if there is no women among them, it is no crime, but if there are two in the company he is very guilty and must be expelled. Is there not moral sublimity in such legislation? Who does not see that the purchase and sale of any one or two of the classes, constitutes the crime, or else that there is no crime in the addition of the third class in the transaction? Will any member who has any respect for himself, or for the Church to which he belongs, say that the N. E. Church has ever so legislated?

From the above it is clear that the rule does not in terms, prohibit slaveholding in the Church. Its language and history prove that it was never designed to prohibit Slavery, that it is against Slavery, as far as it goes, and that it extends to the prohibition of the traffic. In our next argument we shall show that the rule does not protect Slavey, nor sanctify, or by implication.

Correspondence of the N. Y. Tribune.

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**GARRETT.**

The Warrens Poor.—The Sheriff of New Castle County, Delaware, and his deputy, will shortly have a strenuous job of whipping to perform.

At the last session of the court, no less than seven persons were convicted of criminal offenses,

and in addition to the fines and imprisonment imposed, some of them are to be sold, and require fine right to tenancy leases made.

One of the convicted—a woman—found guilty of stealing a small sum of money and a few articles of clothing, was sentenced to a person with whom she carried all night, it is to receive ten lashes, and to be sold, with

in the State, for a period not exceeding seven years.—Del. Co. P. T. Bryan.

The owner of the murdered slave Pompey, was freed from his bed on the night of May 18, 1857, by the wife of Pompey, who informed the master that he had served Pompey, and conveyed

of being destroyed in the time of war, and he has hitherto been subjected to personal injury and annoyance in time of peace. Our relations with Spain, which ought to be of the most friendly character, also always be placed in jeopardy whilst the existing colonial government over the Island shall remain in its present condition.

While the possession of the Island would be of vast importance to the United States, its value to Spain, is comparatively unimportant. Such was the relative situation of the parties, when the great Napoleon transferred Louisiana to the United States. Jessie, as he was over, of the national honor and interest of France, no person through the world, if not official, of course, of ex-President Pierce, Major Lewis Cass Jr., Minister over the Court of St. Louis, was induced to interest himself in the matter, and by his personal interview with the French Ambassador, who was then at the moment in the adjacent city of Geneva, and that after a while she found the young man to be a gentleman of high character, and that his wife was a widow, and had received her again after her husband's death, and had remained the wife of the young man, he was induced to make a pecuniary equivalent for this occasion.

The publicity which has been given to our negotiations upon this subject, and the large appropriation which might be required to effect the purpose, render it expedient, before making another attempt to renew the negotiation, that I should lay the whole subject before Congress. This is especially necessary, as it may become indispensable to success, that I should be instructed with the means of making an advance to the Spanish government immediately after the signing of the treaty, or without awaiting the ratification of it by the Senate. I am encouraged to make this suggestion, by the example of Mr. Jefferson, previous to the purchase of Louisiana from France, and by that of Mr. Polk in view of the acquisition of territory from Mexico. I refer the whole subject to Congress, and commend it to their early consideration.

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